

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 02450

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON PLENARY, FEBRUARY 16, 1978
(SALT TWO-1620)

REF: A. SALT TWO-1622
B. SALT TWO-1621

1. AT FEBRUARY 16 PLENARY, SEMENOV'S STATEMENT (REFTEL A) REPEATED PRIOR SOVIET ARGUMENTS RE EXCLUSION OF BEAR F ASW AIRCRAFT FROM 2400 AGGREGATE. DESCRIBING US "HOWEVER CONFIGURED" LANGUAGE AS "UNTENABLE," HE STATED THAT ARGUMENTS PUT FORTH BY US TO COUNT THESE AIRPLANES WERE "GROUNDLESS, ARTIFICIAL, AND COUNTER TO THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY." FINALLY, HE CHARACTERIZED AS "IRRELEVANT" US ARGUMENTS THAT SOVIET BOMBER DEFINITION PROPOSED ON JANUARY 12 INCLUDED BEAR F ASW AIRCRAFT.

2. I RESTATED RATIONALE FOR THE CURRENT US POSITION ON NEW TYPES OF ICBMS (REFTEL B), EMPHASIZING THAT BOTH THE BAN ON NEW TYPES AND PROHIBITING IMPROVEMENT IN CAPABILITY-
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ITIES OF EXISTING ICBMS WERE REQUIRED FOR THE LIMITATION TO HAVE DESIRED EFFECT. CHARACTERIZING SOVIET PROPOSAL AS INCONSISTENT, I NOTED THAT SINGLE RV ICBM EXEMPTION WOULD LEAD TO UPGRADING OF SOVIET CAPABILITIES BOTH THROUGH NEW ICBM ITSELF AND BY APPLICATION OF IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY TO EXISTING MIRVED ICBMS.

3. IN BRIEF RESPONSE, SEMENOV REAFFIRMED SOVIET PROPOSALS ON NEW TYPES.

4. IN POST PLENARY DISCUSSION:

A. YOSHKAR-OLA: REFERRING TO MY JANUARY 27 QUESTION
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RE SS-16 MISSILES AT YOSHKAR-OLA, SEMENOV SAID UNDER INSTRUCTIONS: "USSR NEVER HAD RS-14 MISSILES (CALLED SS-16 IN US) IN ITS OPERATIONAL FORCES. UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT TREATY THESE MISSILES CANNOT BE MADE OPERATIONAL IN THE FUTURE, INCLUDING IN THE AREA REFERRED TO BY THE US SIDE."

B. DATA BASE: NOTING THAT PARAS 1 AND 2 OF ARTICLE II WERE AGREED, SEMENOV SAID UNDER INSTRUCTIONS: "THE ACTUAL NUMBERS OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AND SLBM LAUNCHERS THE USSR HAD AS OF JANUARY 1, 1978 WERE 1,398 AND 950 RESPECTIVELY. ACCORDING TO OUR DATA, AS OF JANUARY 1, 1978 THE US HAD 1,054 ICBM LAUNCHERS AND 656 SLBM LAUNCHERS."

C. ASBMS: SEMENOV ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING US ASBM PROPOSALS RE ASBMS IN PROTOCOL, AS WELL AS US ATTITUDE TOWARD MIRVED CRUISE MISSILES. IN RESPONSE, I REVIEWED ASBM REFERENCES IN TREATY, RATIONALE OF PROTOCOL APPROACH TO ASBMS, AND NEED FOR SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ASBMS IN TREATY. I DEFERRED COMMENT ON CRUISE MISSILES WITH
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MIRVS. IN BRIEF COMMENT, SEMENOV SAID SOVIET SIDE HAD NO DOUBTS CONCERNING AGREED PROVISIONS IN TREATY RE ASBMS.

5. ROWNY/BELETSKY-USTINOV BILATERAL

BELETSKY SAID MOST IMPORTANT THING EITHER SIDE SAID TODAY WAS SEMENOV'S COMMENT FOLLOWING US PLENARY STATEMENT CONFIRMING SOVIET POSITION ON "NEW TYPES." USTINOV SAID US PROPOSALS ON ASBMS IN TREATY AND PROTOCOL ARE INCONSISTENT. AFTER ROWNY EXPLAINED US FORMULATIONS, BELETSKY SAID US PROPOSALS ARE INCONSISTENT BY CLAIMING THAT NEW TYPES OF ICBMS WOULD BE DESTABILIZING WHEREAS A COMPLETELY NEW TYPE OF SYSTEM, SUCH AS AN ASBM, WOULD NOT. BELETSKY MADE SIMILAR ARGUMENTS AGAINST MIRVED ASBMS. ROWNY AND BELETSKY ENGAGED IN A DIALOGUE ON STABILITY, ROWNY ARGUING THAT FIXED ICBMS HAVE GREATEST POTENTIAL FOR INSTABILITY, BELETSKY COUNTERING THAT GREATEST INSTABILITY WOULD ARISE FROM INTRODUCTION OF NEW TYPES OF SYSTEMS.

6. JOHNSON-FREW/SHCHUKIN BILATERAL

SHCHUKIN OBSERVED THAT HE WAS DISAPPOINTED IN OUR STATEMENT TODAY AND DID NOT CONSIDER IT HELPFUL. HE OBSERVED

THAT DURING OPERATIONAL EXERCISES TU 142 WERE NEVER USED
IN BOMBING MODE AND TU 95 HEAVY BOMBER WAS NEVER USED IN
ASW MODE. IN RESPONSE TO JOHNSON QUERY CONCERNING SEA-
LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILE, SHCHUKIN ASSERTED THAT THEIR
DEPLOYED SEA-LAUNCHED MISSILES HAD NOT FLOWN MORE THAN
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600 KM.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6077

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 02450

EXDIS, USSALTTWO

7. PEREZ-MCNEILL/SMOLIN BILATERAL

SMOLIN INDICATED THAT CRUISE MISSILE DEFINITION WHICH
DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN CRUISE MISSILES AND "PILOTLESS
AIRPLANES" WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE BUT THAT DEFINITION WHICH
ATTEMPTED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN ARMED AND UNARMED CRUISE
MISSILES OF SAME TYPE WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE.

8. NEXT PLENARY SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 23. EARLE

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